

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT ANTHONY LEWIS COLUMN NEW YORK TIMES
MONDAY JULY 17 HEADED "DIPLOMACY NOT BLUSTER."

2. ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE FEATS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY
IN OUR TIME: THAT WAS WHAT ONE VETERAN DIPLOMAT SAID OF
LAST WEEK'S AGREEMENT ON A PLAN TO BRING THE TERRITORY OF
SOUTHWEST-AFRICA TO INDEPENDENCE AS NAMIBIA. THE COM-
PLIMENT WAS NOT EXAGGERATED.

3. NAMIBIA IS A FARAWAY PLACE OF WHICH MOST AMERICANS KNOW
LITTLE. BUT THE AGREEMENT THERE, IF IT STICKS, HAS LARGE
IMPLICATIONS. IT COULD EASE THE DANGEROUS TENSIONS IN
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ANGOLA AND ZAIRE. IT COULD REDUCE SOVIET AND CUBAN INFLU-
ENCE IN THE AREA. IT COULD OFFER MILD HOPE FOR PEACEFUL
CHANGE ON THE RACIAL ISSUE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA GENERALLY.

4. PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT IS WHAT THE NAMIBIA STORY SAYS
ABOUT THE USES OF DIPLOMACY. AMERICANS ARE OFTEN IMPA-
TIENT, EVEN CONTEMPTUOUS OF DIPLOMACY. ON AFRICA ESPEC-

ALLY, THESE DAYS, A LOT OF POLITICIANS SEEM TO PREFER
BLUSTER AND THREAT. THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA REMAINS SO

COMPLEX, AND THE PARTIES SO TOUCHY, THAT ONE HAS TO BE
WARY EVEN NOW OF EXPECTING FINAL SUCCESS. BUT AT THIS
POINT THE DIPLOMATIC PROCESS HAS WORKED.

5. THE ODDS AGAINST A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA WERE VERY LONG.
SOUTH AFRICA HAS RULED THE TERRITORY SINCE 1920, APPLYING
THERE HER OWN RACIST DOCTRINES. NUMEROUS UNITED NATIONS
RESOLUTIONS HAVE FAILED TO DISLODGE HER. THE LOCAL
GUERRILLA LEADER, SAM NUJOMA OF THE SOUTHWEST AFRICA
PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION, IS A RIGID FIGURE, WARY OF NEGOTIA-
TIONS. AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER, B.J. VORSTER,
HAS SAID HE WOULD NEVER DEAL WITH MR. NUJOMA.

6. LAST YEAR FIVE WESTERN COUNTRIES -- THE UNITED STATES,
WEST GERMANY, FRANCE, BRITAIN AND CANADA -- DECIDED TO
MAKE ONE LAST EFFORT TO DEAL DIPLOMATICALLY WITH THAT
INTRACTABLE SITUATION. UNDER UNITED NATIONS AEGIS, THEY
SET UP A CONTACT GROUP TO TALK TO BOTH SIDES. THE FIVE
WORKED CLOSELY TOGETHER. BUT THE IDEA WAS AMERICAN, AND
THE LEADER OF THE GROUP WAS DONALD F. MCHENRY, DEPUTY U.S.
REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

7. THE CONTACT GROUP MADE REPEATED VISITS TO SOUTH
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AFRICA, TO NAMIBIA AND TO THE NEARBY BLACK STATES: ANGOLA,
ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA, TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE. IT WAS A YEAR
FULL OF DELAYS AND FRUSTRATIONS. BUT IN THE END BOTH
SIDES ACCEPTED THE GROUP'S PLAN FOR A CEASE-FIRE, A
GRADUAL REDUCTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN NAMIBIA AND
A U.N.-SUPERVISED ELECTION LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE.

8. HOW DID IT WORK? A NUMBER OF FACTORS CAME TOGETHER
IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS, AMONG THEM THESE:

--THE PRESIDENT OF ANGOLA, AGOSTINHO NETO, WANTED
URGENTLY TO REDUCE HIS REGIME'S DEPENDENCE ON CUBAN TROOPS
AND SOVIET MILITARY AID. ONE WAY TO DO THAT WAS TO IM-
PROVE RELATIONS WITH THE WEST, CALM ANGOLA'S BORDER WITH
ZAIRE AND END THE GUERRILLA WARFARE WITH SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

--THE OTHER NEARBY AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAD THEIR OWN
REASONS, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL, FOR WANTING A NAMIBIAN
SETTLEMENT. ZAMBIA, FOR EXAMPLE, FEARED SOUTH AFRICAN
TROOPS CROSSING HER BORDER IF GUERRILLA WAR CONTINUED.
PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE OF TANZANIA WAS ESPECIALLY STRONG
IN PERSUADING MR. NUJOMA.

--SOUTH AFRICA TOOK A CRUCIAL POLITICAL DECISION LAST APRIL BY ACCEPTING THE WESTERN PLAN FOR NAMIBIA. BY THIS UNEXPECTED MOVE SHE "OCCUPIED THE HIGH GROUND," AS ONE

DIPLOMAT PUT IT. AFRICAN STATES REALIZED THAT THEY COULD NOT HOPE TO GET WESTERN SUPPORT FOR ANY FURTHER MOVES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA ON THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION, AND EVERYONE LOOKED TO SWAPO FOR A RESPONSE.

9. IN THE END, THE NEARBY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS PUT HEAVY PRESSURE ON MR. NUJOMA TO ACCEPT THE WESTERN PLAN. HE HAD TO WORRY ABOUT DIVISIONS IN SWAPO, TOO, WITH OTHER FACTIONS READY TO TURN TO POLITICS. HE SAID YES AFTER UNCLASSIFIED

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TWO LAST DAYS OF MEETINGS WITH THE WESTERN CONTACT GROUP IN LUANDA.

10. THE POLITICAL POSSIBILITIES FOR AN AGREEMENT MAY HAVE BEEN THERE. BUT AS IN ANY NEGOTIATION, PERSONAL LEADERSHIP WAS REQUIRED TO BRING THEM INTO PLAY. THE CREDIT HERE MUST GO FIRST TO THE AMERICAN INVOLVED, DONALD MCHENRY. HE IS A PROFESSIONAL, A MAN OF STRENGTH AND PATIENCE. HE HAD TO BE, TO KEEP THE TWO ANGRY SIDES IN NAMIBIA TALKING, DEAL WITH OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES AND AT THE SAME TIME MANAGE TO HOLD THE FIVE-NATION CONTACT GROUP TOGETHER.

11. CREDIT ALSO GOES TO ANDREW YOUNG. HE IS IN TROUBLE NOW BECAUSE OF HIS FOOLISH REMARK ABOUT POLITICAL PRISONERS. BUT AS THIS COUNTRY'S CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE AT THE U.N. HE HAS BEEN HIGHLY EFFECTIVE. IF AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVES HAD NOT COME TO HAVE SO MUCH CONFIDENCE IN ANDREW YOUNG, AND THROUGH HIM IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY, THERE COULD HAVE BEEN NO SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA.

12. IN MAY OF THIS YEAR IT BRIEFLY LOOKED AS THOUGH THE UNITED STATES WAS TURNING TO BLUSTER AS A WAY OF DEALING WITH AFRICAN PROBLEMS. PRESIDENT CARTER SPOKE BRISTLING WORDS ABOUT THE CUBANS AND ANGOLA, AND HIS INTELLIGENCE PEOPLE SPOKE OF RETURNING TO THE COVERT METHODS THAT HAD BEEN SUCH A DISASTER WHEN USED BY HENRY KISSINGER. DIPLOMACY IS MORE DIFFICULT, MORE WEARING; BUT SOMETIMES IT WORKS. CHRISTOPHER

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